

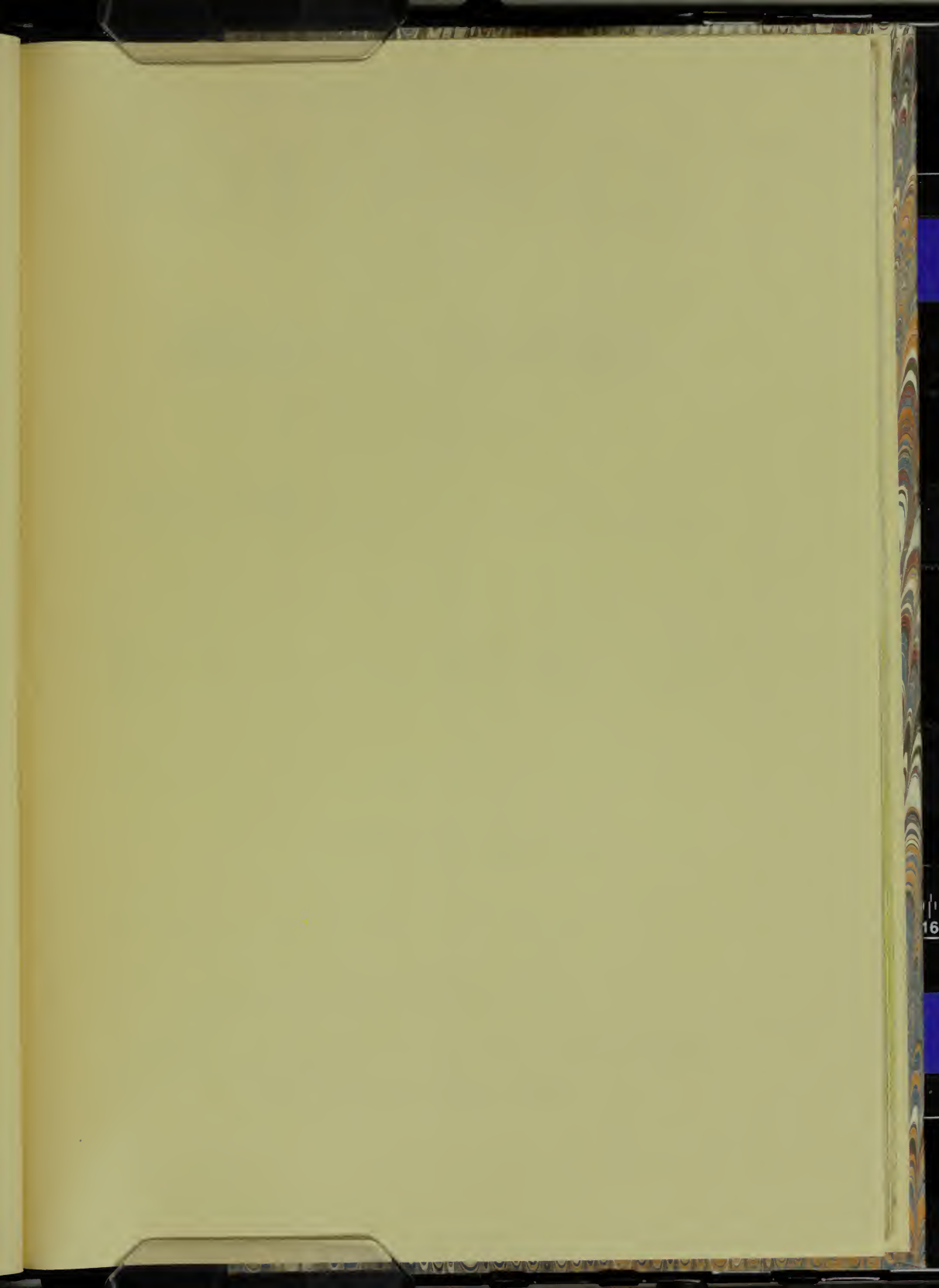


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# Plain English:

Humbly offered to the

CONSIDERATION

OF HIS

MAJESTY,

And his GREAT COUNCIL,

THE

Lords and Commons

In PARLIAMENT Assembled.

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*Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.*

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London, Printed in the Year, 1690.



Plain English:

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CONSIDERATION

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THE

House of Commons

In Parliament Assembled.

Objections answered, &c. &c. &c.

London, Printed in the Year 1689.



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E R R A T A.

- P. Age 9. line 5. for *serv'd* read *seem'd*.  
P. 11. l. 21. f. *wanted* r. *wonted*.  
P. 13. l. 15. f. *instituted* r. *intituled*.  
P. 14. l. 12. *Queque ipse &c*, put in after *good Behaviour*,  
l. 7.  
P. 16. l. 10. f. *from* r. *for*.  
l. 31. r. *by Law determined, before*.  
P. 17. l. 1. f. *and* r. *a*.  
l. 6. *dele of*.  
l. 10. f. *these* r. *that*.  
P. 27. l. 5. f. *then* r. *when*.  
l. 15. put the Comma after *Mercy*.  
l. ult. r. *did remain*, and *dele* the rest.  
P. 28. l. 1. after *must* add *not*.  
l. 3. *dele not*.  
l. 9. after *is* add *it*.  
l. 12. f. *for* read *from*.
-



## Plain English.

*Obsequium Amicos, veritas odium parit.*

**I**T has rarely hapned, that Plain English could steal abroad without being called *Malicious*, by them who could not answer it ; or *Libellous*, by them who were deservedly jealous of the Press, and therefore the most fitting Persons to have the inspection of it.

Hence the Betrayers of their Country, having fatned themselves with its Spoils, were likely to have been transmitted to Posterity, as Men of Merit for their *Loyalty*. And those *Heroes*, who fought it out in the Breaches, and whose Blood has been the fruitful Seed of those Liberties we now enjoy, to have been robb'd of their due Honours, which would have been transferr'd to others, who, as Magpies, or such other insignificant Things, cure Agues, were thought to have reliev'd their Country, as they hapned to be the last, tho' the weakest Assertors of its Rights.

Past and present Times, shew by what good Fortune they were found in that Cause, for which the noble Lord *Russel* fell worried and unlamented by them, and without so much as their charitable Opinion of the State in which he died.

B

Nothing



Nothing but a Liberty of Printing, given or taken, can hinder his Cause from being yet rendred Vile, and his Ashes from being trampled on, without Rebuke, by every florid *Vindicator* of Murders in Form, but without colour of Law.

Those Times which these Interested Writers would justify, are far from such as *Tacitus* commends, *Wherein a Man might think what he would, and utter what he thought.*

But sure I am, no Age is worthy of such an Historian as *Tacitus*, wherein any Man may not publish without Penalty whatever he will set his Hand to, and for which he stands ready to answer the Law: without Submitting to the partial or weak Judgment of a mercenary Licenser; who will take care that those scurrilous Reflections upon our happy Settlement, and its Worthy Instruments, which he licenses, may pass uncorrected.

For want of fit Liberty, Princes have been abus'd, and Foundations sap'd, without publick Notice: and whoever has seen and ventured farther than others, has been thought justly to suffer for being *righteous over-much.*

Be it as it will: As the Interest of my Country has ever had the Ascendent over my Affections, be That, and Truth, my Licence.

The Cowardise of King *James* the First, as it made him betray the Protestant Interest Abroad, naturally bred in him a Distrust of his People, and servile Compliances with Foreign Princes, from whom he apprehended any Danger. This made him earnestly sollicite a Match for his Son *Charles* with the *Infanta* of *Spain*. The Father's Fears, as it is to be hop'd, rather than the Son's Inclinations, occasion'd that flatt'ring Letter to the Pope which  
hangs

hangs heavy upon *Charles* his Memory.

And though the Match took not effect, the Papists obtain'd those Advantages, by a cunning management of the Treaty, which were not easy to be retriev'd; and were confirm'd and enlarged by the Marriage with a Daughter of *France*, the mischievous effect of which is visible, in that amazing List, which is to be seen in *Rushworth*, of Papists employed in that Reign in all manner of Offices.

Down-right Popery would not pass with that King, But a *Laudean Prelacy*, or *Brittish Patriarchate*, which was little better, had gotten possession of his Understanding, and prevail'd upon that Prince, who, I believe, was a very good Man, to do those Actions, which if he had not had the Church-men on his Side, would have blackned him, almost as much as the old Monks do any of his Predecessors.

As the Violations in his Time, of the Constitution of the English Government, are by no means to be justified; neither can any Man answer for his Discretion in losing *Scotland*, meerly to gratify the Bishops here: who could not be satisfied with Uniformity in their own Churches, without making *Scotland* damn all that would not believe in *Athanasius*.

The Queen's Party finding the King's blind-side, struck in, with seeming Zeal for the Church of *England*. But that they might secure a Retreat, if that should not prevail, sent some upon the Forlorn on the other side. And, as Bishop *Bramhal* has rightly observ'd, till they came to acquaint one another with the Mystery, many of them were surprized at encountering their Brethren in the Field. This must be said of them, That though their Animosities a-



mong themselves may often proceed to great Heights, they never fail in joining against Protestancy.

Nor is it now to be doubted, but the Papists animated the Episcopal Party against *Scotland*, and against the Moderate of their own Members here. And insinuating themselves into the Leaders on the contrary Side, perswaded them to break off all Treaty with a Prince, who would gladly then have yielded very far, and was not of a Religion which could dispense with the breach of Oaths or Promises.

I find no Reason to disbelieve Bishop *Bramhal* and Dr. *Du-Moulin*, vvho offer Proofs, That that King's Death was but in pursuance of Popish Resolutions.

The Anarchy which followed is a large Blot in our Annals. The wisest of *Cromwel's* Counsellors saw, that this Government could not subsist without Kingly Power. And though his Reputation and Policy, for a while, kept up the *Protectorship*, or *Regency*, 'tis a Question whether the then King of *Scots* would not have turn'd him out, if he had lived a little longer. However, the determination of his Power, or any lucky Accident to the King, naturally made way for the other's reassuming the Regal Authority.

Yet while he was out of Possession, many of those, who upon his Return made the greatest boasts of Loyalty, had either drawn their Swords against him, or servilely flattered the Usurpers. Nor were the Papists the most backward in such Submissions.

No Prince ever came to the Crown with greater Opportunities of making this Nation Happy, and the Protestant Religion the prevailing Interest over Christendom, than K. C. 2.

But



But the ground of our Misfortunes, next to the vow'd Revenge for the Death of the Father, was, That he had renounced the Protestant Religion abroad. The Proof of which is but too strong.

Sir *Allen Brotherick*, who was with that King beyond Sea at the time of his first professing the Popish Religion, has been often heard to lament the burning of his Journal, wherein the very Day and Circumstances of it were entred. And I am assured that one of his present Majesty's Chaplains, (Minister of the Place where Sir *Allen* died) can give an account of his Deathbed-Declaration of what he knew in it; with this additional Circumstance, that it was done in the Absence of the old L. *Culpeper*; who knowing of it at his Return, fell into great Passion, and told the King, he must never expect to see *England* again, if it should be known there.

That Lord knew too much for a Protestant; and it was thought fatal to him to have had no more Jealousy of a Venison-Pasty, than he had entertained of his Master.

The Lord *Bristol*, who pretended, not to be of the Court of *Rome*, though he professed himself of that Church, if he may be believed in what he protested to the House of Commons, had given King *Charles* the same Advice which had been given to *Henry* the Fourth, *If he would be truly Great, to be more a Protestant than he was.* And perhaps this kept that Lord from receiving those Advantages, which otherwise his Religion and great Parts would have intitled him to.

But I never heard that it fared the worse with Cardinal *de Rhetz*, for advising that King in point of Prudence to keep to the Religion of his Country.

How

However *Mazarene's* sanguine Counsel prevailed, and how secret soever it was kept, many had got the hint of it, which occasioned that Act, which made it so highly penal to say, That the King was a Papist.

At his first coming, his famili'd Courtiers were very greedy: And they who had made their Fortunes in the former Turns, or encreas'd them by a Neutrality, or compliance against their Principles, to be approved of neither by God nor Man, were best able to purchase Places of Trust and Profit. The old *Cavalier* had nothing but his Merits and Sufferings to plead; which how much soever they weigh'd with the King, were very troublesome to a needy Courtier; therefore they had recourse to two Pretences for turning them off: One was, That others had been us'd to Business, and therefore were more fit for it: The Other, That Reason of State oblig'd the King to win his Enemies, and to trust to the Fidelity of his Friends.

This was the Management, while the general Mart of Offices lasted; and while that King seem'd to have no Inclinations of his own, but to Pleasure, and suffer'd himself to be carried, like a Child with Leading-strings, by his Ministers, and them who by driving away the indigent old *Cavalier*, engross'd the Name of *Royalists*.

The Services of others, who had ventur'd all for their Prince, who they believ'd injured, were past. But as most of them seeing the Tendency of the Queen's Party in the time of *Charles* the First, as much press'd an Accommodation between him and his People, as she dissuaded it; so they were, at the Return, for promoting an happy Settlement of the Nation. But the *Renegadoes*, or new Courtiers, out-  
vied



vied them clearly in *Super-Loyalty*, and getting into Parliament, merited their sitting together so long, that they became a Reproach to themselves, and a Burden to the People, whom they loaded with unnecessary Taxes to feed themselves, and the new male and female infamous Courtiers.

They were the Men, who were the Authors of those Laws which press'd so hard upon great part of the Nation, who could not bow so *decently*, and in such *Order* as others.

Who garbled Corporations, and deprived Men of their greatest Civil Rights, for a Ceremony either insignificant, or of too great significancy: As particularly the Sign of the Cross, which their Canons have declared to be a Ceremony, whereby the Child is dedicated to Christ.

These are they who consented to the Repeal of the *Triennial Act*, which put it out of the power of the Court long to discontinue Parliaments, or to turn them off, when met, in less than fifty days.

These required the Oath, in their Intendment, contrary to the fundamental Liberty of the Nation, whereby they would make the King, and them who are commissioned by him, to be as irresistible, as their Severity against Dissenters would argue the Imposers infallible.

One would wonder how these Men, after they had shewn the Court that they were ready to merit their Pensions, should ever be turn'd off by him.

They saw the Tendency to Popery plainly enough, but they were to make honourable Steps towards it. And therefore the King, not only finding their Salaries chargeable, but that they had some nice Punctilio's of Honour to be salv'd, propounded to them the granting him such a Revenue for Life, as might  
 ease



ease their trouble of meeting for the future ; which made them first look about them to secure the continuance of their Salaries : And from that time, being jealous that their Master was not so sincere towards them, as their Truth to his separate Interest might require, they began to think of their being *English* Men.

But to return to the former part of that Reign.

Was it not enough to raise any Man's Indignation, to observe that King, often pointing at a threadbare *Cavalier*, who had wasted his Fortune, and most of his Blood, in the Service of his Father and Himself, to tell his Courtiers, *There goes as brave a Man as ever drew Sword in our Quarrel*, and yet not to relieve him from starving.

The Papists, who under-hand played the Puppets which came upon the Stage, heightened the Resentments of some for former Sufferings, and the Jealousies of others, lest many should share with them. And as the *King* could have an easy Absolution for breach of his Word at *Breda*, the prevailing Faction gave him Colour for it, by taking the Matter upon themselves.

And to countenance their not coming to *that Temper*, which the Nation expected, the first Sham-plot was raised upon Protestants : Great numbers of them were imprisoned without pretence of Law, but meerly for fighting for Liberty, or shaking their heads at the mistaken Change. The Commitments were so illegal, that they were forc'd to make an Act to indemnify them for this violent Oppression of innocent Men ; not being then so harden'd and flesh'd with Successes against the *English* Liberties, to be past fear, as they were upon the like Violences afterwards.

But

But though themselves admitted their Proceedings to have been Lawless and Arbitrary, they had their desir'd Effect, in making severe Laws pass with ease against a sort of Men, whom they rendred Traitors to that Power which ~~seem'd~~ till then to protect them with an Equal Hand. *seem'd*

These for a long time bore the Brunt, till their Preachers being driven from them, their Trade stopt, civil Priviledges ravish'd, and Families ruin'd, they were forc'd within the Church Walls; and no doubt but Jails, Fines, and Excommunications, aided with the Secular Power, are, next to French Dragoons, the most ready way to make involuntary Conversions.

But whether these were in earnest or no, this Peace, though never so uncertain, was contrary to the Designs and Interest of the first Movers at Court, Who unless they could play one Party of Protestants against another, found they must yield to common Protestantcy.

The Court therefore with such a stretch of Prerogative, as was in the time of *James* the First, exercised, in different Instances, by the Applause of the *Church-Men*, gave a general Toleration: Which some perhaps were so foolish as to own from the grant of the Crown. Others were glad that what they always thought allow'd by God, when it might be done without Sacrifice, was become safe and seasonable.

Upon this, the Pulpits took the Alarum; they who had advanc'd an unlimited Prerogative, distinguish'd away their own Doctrine, which being new, seem'd to bear the greater Latitude of Interpretation: The Ecclesiastick Drums called their Party to the Field; And they either wheedled or



out-voted the confiding Men who wish'd well to the general ease of the Protestant Subject: and understood not their Art, who were forward for it, to get an opportunity to betray it.

The King finding he could not help his beloved Papists that Way, again fell in with the Church; and great were the Endearments which pass between them! The Duke of York, who acted with a pretended Compassion for those Protestants which were oppress'd, was seemingly discountenanced. The Ministers of State, even *Clifford* himself, (who profess'd himself a Papist at his Death) were zealous Sons of the Church of *England*. The Church and the Crown vied with each other in Complements; The Crown made every Ceremony sacred, and the Church fetch every abuse and enlargement of Power from Heaven.

In the mean while the Court were under-hand carrying on a deep Design against the Protestant Religion, and the true Constitution of the Government. But *Rome* more subtle, gave so many several Parts, and it's Emisaries were so faithful to their hellish Sacraments of Secrecy, that Plotters justled Plotters in the dark. And the King, who thought himself worthy to be trusted with the whole Secret, began to start from them, at the discovery of their Design to take him off, as not having obstinacy or blindness enough to run over all the rubs which lay in the way to the publick Profession of their Religion: for which the Jesuits thought all things Ripe.

The King, like one rous'd from a Lethargy, seem'd to have a new Life, and to infuse Spirits into the Nation; the generality of which distrusted as little as they were Guilty. But when day-light was let



let into their Designs, almost all professing themselves Protestants, join'd in prosecuting the Plot, till some tracing it to *Whitehal* and *St. James's*, durst not move further.

Others fearing the Effects of that general Union among Protestants, dangerous to Arbitrary Power, and to Engrossers of Preferments in Church and State, which that was likely to occasion, used all their Art and Industry to stifle or baffle the Discoveries, till at the last they turn'd the Plot upon them who ventur'd furthest in unmasking the Plotters.

'Tis well known who oppos'd bringing them to Justice; Nor is it to be doubted who were at that time most Friends to the Liberties of the Subject. The *Habeas Corpus* and Test-Acts, which King *Charles* his Fright obliged him to Pass, were yielded to the importunity of the *Whiggs*, who were known to have the far greatest Majority in Parliament, while the others, tho' with unequal Numbers, fought it out with their wonted obstinacy against what was so displeasing to the Court, and with great Solicitation, they got their beloved Duke, (whom they knew to be a Papist) excepted out of that noble Act, which otherwise would have turned him out of the House of Lords.

Being got rid of these Liberty and Property-Men, they fell to Fining, Imprisoning, Murdering, and Assassinating those who durst be honest at the hazard of their Fame, their Fortune and their Lives. And had King *Charles* liv'd but one Year longer, giving countenance to the barbarous Insolencies of those who deservedly have been called *Tories*, *England* had been as a great Slaughter-house, and the Quarters of its best Patriots had been hung

up in all publick Places, to shew Men how dangerous it was to prefer ones Country before the humour of a prevailing Faction.

Then Court-Divinity and Law had almost run down Religion and Civil Right.

A Conformity to the fashionable Mode of Worship was prest, as necessary to Salvation; and whoever denied that the *King* could *make Laws* of his sole Authority; Or, that the *Sovereign Power* which *makes, repeals, and dispenses* with Laws, was inseparable from his Person, was thought no good Christian, or good Subject.

The *Scripture* was thought to teach the Law of the Land, that to give Authority to *Scripture*, and the *King* to both. Nor is it to be wondred, that Men of ductile Reasons should hold this, when it was affirm'd by one of the Leaders, that *If the King be God's Vicegerent, he is upon that account as much above all, as God is.*

These strains of Loyalty from the *Pulpit*, were echoed back from the *Benches* at *Westminster*, and in the Country, and followed with inhuman Worryings of all Opposers, till the late King mounted the Throne, with the universal Acclamation of that Set of Men, who were in such a transport of Joy, that one would be tempted to think that they savv the Day which their Wishes, Prayers, and Endeavours had mark'd out as the utmost limit to their Desires.

That *King*, as he had reason, fell a courting that Party, which had not only secur'd the Crown to him, but put it in great measure into his Power to manage, according to the Absoluteness of his Inclination; not only by the Advantages over the Constitution which they had put into his Hands, but



but by the *Salvo* for Prerogative, which some of them had designedly added to the Coronation-Oath; without Precedent or tolerable Pretence.

And though they were much displeased that he should so soon unmask, and take away the Colours vvhich they vv ere fond of, for imposing upon their credulous Party the Belief of his being a Protestant, vvhereby he depriv'd them of that Reputation vvith vvhich they pretended to serve the *Church of England* of Arbitrary Power: yet still they vowed Lives and Fortunes. And they vvho knew vvhat Reserve had been in his Coronation-Oath for a Prerogative above or besides the Law, thought themselves obliged to pay that Obedience which they fancied he vv as thereby intitled to exact, as if the perverting the Oath by a Confederacy, could alter the Condition of an *English* King.

When the unhappy Duke of *Monmouth*, (vvho vvith the Roman *Marcellus*, experienc'd the *short and unhappy Caresses of the People*,) vv as drawn into the Snare laid for him, they not only inculcated the Duty of Fighting to maintain the late King in his Station, (vvhich many of them think themselves not obliged to, in relation to this,) but vvithout any Regard to Proof or Justice, join'd in, or encouraged the clapping up all, vvho by their knowvn Zeal for the Religion and Lavvs of their Country, gave them the least Apprehension of an Inclination to join vvith the *Duke*, or to rescue the Constitution from them vvho had long made a Prey of it.

And if any Men had the Hardiness to move for an *Habeas Corpus*, the exorbitant Bail which they requir'd at their Discharges, and the recording them as entred into it, for the good Behaviour; when no such thing was mentioned at the time, nor would  
have



have been consented to, made the Remedy worse than the Disease; nor would the binding over to this in a Court above suffice, but the same thing was required over again in the Country; every Man knows to what end this was, and how industrious they were to make, or find Pretences of Breach of the good Behaviour. *Quid, ipse miserrime vidi et quorum pars magna fui.*

The unhappy Duke was led to the Block, and his Principles in relation to Civil Power, triumph'd over on the Scaffold, by Men who might have entertained him with Subjects more suitable to their Office. — *Quaque ipse miserrime vidi, et quorum pars magna fui.* —

The late King, heady in all his Enterprizes, thought by the Conquest of Monmouth, the general Submission of the Clergy to the Ecclesiastical Commission, that Iron Rod which hung over them, the Doctrine of the Pulpit, and Surrender of Charters retaken, with Power for him to displace Officers at Pleasure, till they might be cull'd to his Mind; he might do all things which the Cause of Holy Church required: and well he might, if he had but hit the right Key; Considering that the most extravagant Notions for absolute Power had been more than Speculations, and were reduced and preach'd into Practice, even while there was an immediate Prospect of his succeeding to the Crown, and acting all for the introducing of Popery, which hair-brain'd Priests could inspire into a resolv'd Bigot.

To the Divine Right of Succession, whatever the Supream Law, the Safety of the People may require, a Right which they would allow no Law, Fault or Forfeiture, to alter or diminish, he owed his Crown, and to their other Illusions the Opportunity and Temptation to do more towards accomplishing his  
Ends

Ends, than the just Prerogatives of the Crown could countenance, or the Courage of his Party otherwise attempt.

And while the noblest Patriots were singled out for Destruction, the People, like the hardened Jews, headed by their Priests, were taught to cry, *Crucify, Crucify.*

During which Ferment, the Fundamental Rights of the Nation were, with Safety to the Managers, shatter'd and betrayed by unprecedent Judgments, for the Dissolution of Corporations, and dispensing with Laws; treacherous Surrenders of Charters, contrary to Oaths to maintain their Priviledges to their Powers: which had certainly obliged Men to load the Courts of pretended Justice with the extorting them all, and not to commit that Ill themselves, which they might fear from others.

I know they will say that many of them had not Money to make Defences: which could be no Pretence for giving greater Countenance to the Designs of the Court by a Surrender, than they could have had by Judgment by Default.

The most would extenuate their Guilt, as if it would have been to no Purpose to hold out, but dangerous to provoke a Court resolved upon having them one way or other.

These Men ought to consider that the Success the Court had in this Enterprize, was owing to the Encouragement many of themselves gave in Practice as well as avowed Principle. And if all had given what Delays they could, in all Probability it had defeated the Design: However they ought to have expected God's Blessing in doing their Duty; and whoever omitted it out of Fear of provoking Men in Power, may, with Mr. *Hobs*, make the outward

Acts



Acts even of God's Worship, to depend upon the Pleasure of the Prince.

But herein lay that *King's* Misfortune, notwithstanding the voluntary Sacrifices made to his black Purposes, that though he might have made sure Work of it, by going on in the former Methods, and still playing the prevailing Party upon them, whom they were ready enough to crush under their Feet : These Methods were likely to be slower than could consist with that immediate Freedom ~~from~~ <sup>for</sup> the Exercise of the Popish Religion, and employing Popish Officers, which his Engagements to *France*, and to his own Priests, urg'd him to.

This prompted him to impute his Deliverance from the Duke to the Assistance of Papists, more than Truth, or the forward Merits of others would bear, and to declare that he would not be deprived of their Services by that Law which incapacitated them. To give the Papists the Praise, and the rest of the Loyal Men the Apprehension that their Services would but make way for others more acceptable, might well make them look about them : And yet they proffered Licence to as many Popish Officers as the King for their particular Merits should name, in vvhich case he vvould be sure not to have been sparing, but he justly expected more from them who were not used to deny any thing which he desired.

If the sole Reason for refusing the King's Proposal, had been the Breach of Law implied in it, 'tis not unlikely but they vvould as vvell have taken Notice of the assuming a Revenue by Law, determined before it was resettled.

But they differing upon Terms, from that time the Pulpits and Pre's began to change their Note ; then the Doctrine of Passive Obedience vv as to be evaded

evaded and distinguish'd into nothing, and not concerning the Constitution of our Government; or a confessing that Clergy-Men had gone beyond their Sphere. And the asserting that no Laws can derogate from the Power of the Prince, vvas to dwindle into the Meaning of no more, than that the Prince does not forfeit his Power if he goes beyond them. And though all the Rights of the Sovereign Power vvhich *makes, repeals, and dispenses with Laws,* vvas maintained to be so inseparable from his Person, *that these his most illegal Commands had the Authority of Sovereign Power;* Yet the *Dispensing Power* was denied to have been ever allowed by them: And indeed they did not expect to have had it so soon turned against them that gave it.

Yet all this while the Principles were not renounced, but lay like *Goliath's* Sword, for the Use of the Sanctuary. And as without the Spirit of Prophecy, it was foreseen that it would be us'd again upon occasion, the present Use of it as a Spiritual Weapon of some, vvho vvould appropriate the Church of *England* to their Faction, even against this Government, may sufficiently justify the reminding them of the Service it did them in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and at the beginning of his Brother's.

And he who observes how proud some are of that Off-scouring which they seemed to cast away, will not condemn those Freedoms with such Men, which the Cause of our Country makes necessary.

It must be owned that some Dissenters, and others who had signalized themselves by their Sufferings for their Country, finding a Relaxation of those Severities under which they had laboured till they were spent, acted like Men newly come out of a



dark House. Their Eyes were dazled, and their Heads turn'd round at the surprizing Change.

These fawn'd upon the late King, almost as grossly as their Oppressors had done. And they either basely, or imprudently, promis'd to promote the Repeal of those Laws which were the best Fence they then had against Popery, vvithout providing for any other Security.

Some, 'tis likely, thought to over-reach the Court by such mental Reservations as are ever to be condemned. Others being too far transported with Resentment, were rather for putting themselves into the Hands of Papists, whose Cruelties they had only read in Story, or heard of at a distance, than into theirs, who they were sure would shew them no Mercy.

These Men I must leave to inherit their own Shame. But I believe they are as few, as Men who deserve the Name of *Regulators*, who went from Corporation to Corporation, to model them after the Humour of the Court. Whose Parts admit of but two Excuses.

The First is, That what they did was according to a Power given the King, by those very Men who complain of it.

The other is, That if the chief Rule was to take in Men of the Interest opposite to them who had been in Power, in all probability it was the Occasion of having the Corporations in much better Hands than they had been in. And that they would be more regardful of their Oaths than the Surrenderers had been.

The most of them who have gone under the Character of *Whigs*, were such, whom no consideration whatever could draw an Hair's breadth from what they

they conceiv'd to be the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and of this Nation. But knowing how easy and natural it was for the old Fondness between the Court and Pulpit, to return upon the least yielding on either side; to prevent that Ravage which must have been the Consequence of new Acts of Love between them, when each must have given proof of their Sincerity, by Sacrificing to the others Humours and Passions, they took Commissions and other Offices, from which the former Possessors were lawfully displaced, either as their Grants had been at the first, only during Pleasure, or as their own treacherous Surrenders had made those which they had by Election as precarious. Though they could not give up the Rights of others, they no doubt divested themselves.

Many therefore very honestly and legally succeeded into their Places, hoping thereby to be in Posts which might give them some Advantage of Authority to serve their Country upon Emergencies. But still they qualify'd themselves as the Law requir'd.

They were assur'd that it was in the Power of the Court to lure their old Friends when it pleas'd. And upon a Reconciliation, totally to enslave the Nation, notwithstanding the continuance of Penal Laws and Tests, by renewing some Commissions every three Months, taking in Papists, who might have Dispensations for all manner of Oaths, or others who would regard no ties of Religion: Or else by acting to such height, as might remove all Dangers of the Execution of the Law.

Upon which Considerations, several who had appear'd the forwardest in the Cause of God and their Country, declar'd a readiness to consent to the quit-



ting those distinguishing Laws, provided they might have such in lieu of them as they should chuse.

This *Dilemma* was then familiarly us'd ; Either such a Security as we propound to our selves, will be granted, or it will not. If it will be granted, No Man who considers the Disposition of them, who before were in the Government, and the ancient Constitution which they had violated, can deny, but if the Constitution could be restor'd, it would be a greater Security to the Nation, and Protestant-Interest, unless we tamely yielded it up when we were enabled to maintain it, than could be deriv'd from the particular Laws with such Men to guard as had before betray'd them ; and the care about those Laws, vvhich could signify nothing, but as they were supported by the Fundamentals, was but the adorning some inward Rooms, while the Foundation was undermined, and the Edifice falling.

But if, upon the Treaty, such Terms could not be obtain'd, after the proffer of whatever we could desire, (and surely we might well desire the Restitution and Security of Fundamentals) such denial must apparently tend to the Confusion of the Propounders, who then must be left to stand upon their own Legs, when they demonstrated to all the World, That Popery was not only their Design in all, but vvhhat they would carry on, at the utmost hazard, by themselves and Foreign Force.

Indeed, to three sorts of Men this Treaty seem'd dishonest.

1. To them who believ'd that the Power which had been ascrib'd to Princes was *inseparable* from their Persons ; that vvhatever legal Limits vv ere set to that Ocean, might of right be overflowv'd vvhen they thought fit. And that they vvho endeavour'd to give Bounds to it, not only unreasonably distrusted

distrusted God's Providence, but acted contrary to his *Ordinance*.

2. To them, vvho alvvays consulted their own Fears, or other Passions as vveak ; and knowvving that it vvvas Criminal in themselves to enter upon any Treaty vvith their Prince, because of their common inability to deny any thing vvvhich he should insist upon, (vvvhich vvvas evident enough in their giving up Charters for Fear of provoking) vvould, like Mr. *Hobbs*, make their ovvn timid frail Nature a Rule to Mankind ; as if they vvho had upon all Occasions shenvvn, that neither the most dismal, or the most flatt'ring Prospects could alter their Resolutions, should, of a suddain, receive a transfusion of Sheeps Blood from the others, and their Veins had svvallovv'd up all the Manhood.

3. To them vvho vvvere for Ingrossing all Ecclesiastical and Civil Preferments to themselves, and Men of their *Super-conformity*, and therefore vvvere for keeping all things upon the same narrowv Bottom ; lest if there vvvere a Relaxation of Terms or Penalties, even to Protestants, there should have been too many Sharers in those Benefits vvvhich made them cry so loud for the Church of *England* by Lavv establish'd. By vvvhich many of them meant, not so much the Common Protestant Religion profess'd in this Nation, as those Distinctions, vvvhich vvvhile they enrich'd one Party of Protestants, disabled all others from assisting against the Common Enemy, and loaded the Men of Noise vvith *Demetrius* his Character.

If this Protestant Nation had, during the last Reign, had the guarding their Religion and Laws, in such a manner, as not only the Wisdom of Parliaments might provide, but our Constitution has allow'd



allow'd at all times, vvhhen all confidence betw een Prince and People vvas broken, could it be imagin'd that, in this Age of Light, Popery could have made such advances as it did, vvith that straining of Prerogative, to vvhich the Court had been encouraged, even vvhen it vvas as evident that it was intended, as vvhen it rashly appear'd bare-fac'd.

Nor can they vvho were for Expedients to secure the Succession to a Papist in Reversion, justly condemn such points of Liberty as have often been obtain'd of Possessors, as Matters of meer Right; or else, as such, left to the People undisputed.

The particulars I forbear to mention, not because I cannot shew and prove them; but because some of them have long lain buried in the venerable Ruins of Antiquity, and ought not to receive Prejudice in being named, vvhen one cannot stay to clear the Honour of their Descent.

Much less can they, vvho were or are for Receiving the *abdicated King*, vvith or vvithout Terms, upbraid those vvho were for Treating, before they knew of his *present Majesties* generous undertaking our Rescue.

And vvhen it was to be apprehended, that if the late King could have the Advantage of taxing all Parties vvith an obstinate Refusal, to listen to Terms for their Security, the Numbers of Irish vvho vvould be actually here should have been follow'd by French Dragoons: and he might have gain'd the same advantage over those vvho vvould listen to no Equivolents or Expedients, vvich it is but too visible that his Brother did.

Nothing more exposes a Party, than to find those very things in vvich they seem'd to place the essential

tial Difference from all others, to be quitted by them, as soon as Interest changes. Who therefore could chuse but smile to observe, that some who had urg'd, that Princes ought to be obey'd in all their Commands, not contrary to God's Law, should refuse to read the Declaration for Liberty to Dissenters?

That they who blam'd Men for undutifully setting Princes, should, when they were well-back'd, make Overtures little short of the nineteen Propositions to C. 1?

Or that they, who must admit that our Dissenting Bishops did not scruple inviting the Prince of *Orange* to take the Government upon him, before the late King left the Kingdom, should contend, that they are the only true Sons of the Church, who left all things to God's Providence, without interposing themselves till he was actually gone?

Or who could have expected that that Bishop, who but a little while before, had rebuk'd a very worthy and prudent Divine for preaching against Popery, should have been one of the Seven?

Or that he who mightily applauded the late King's League with *France*, as a proper means to curb the Fanaticks, should have been another?

Or that he who maintained the *Real Presence*, in such a manner, as gave offence to the greatest Admirers of his Monkish Sanctity and Gesticulations, and gave countenance to the praying to Saints, by what he publish'd of their Intercession for us, while we celebrate their Memories, should have been a Third?

Or that the Duke of *York's* Chaplain in *Scotland*, whose Depth was fathom'd by Mr. *Marvel* in his *Parson Smirk*, should have been a Fourth?

I would by no means derogate from the Action,

or



or rather Suffering, it was great for the Persons, lucky in the time, and crown'd with an Event, which it appears that some of them neither desired nor deserved.

But methinks it is not to be indured, that Ages of Sufferings in others, greater in Birth, and in all things truly praise-worthy, should be nothing in comparison with what befel them. The fullsom Praises which are given them for the first Act of that kind, would make one think, it was admir'd only for the Rarity, or extolled beyond measure out of a pious Design of encouraging Men too backward in the Cause of their Country, to go on in the right Path to Fame.

But they must not expect that it will be as popular for them to stand off from this Government, as it was to have contributed towards it.

Some who have been great Losers and Sufferers from the Violence of former Times, take a liberty of saying, That some Men deserve a Reputation for the opposition which they gave to a Popish King, no otherwise than such as herd with, or connive at Robbers, till they come to divide the Spoil, and then fall from them and make Discoveries, because they are not allowed that share which they merited.

However I think they are much more to be prais'd than they who either make some express *Salvo* at the taking of the Oath of Allegiance to Their Majesties, or declare that 'tis implied; and that notwithstanding their Oaths, they may rebel without incurring Damnation. Nor are they obliged to assist with their Persons or their Arms, to keep this King in his Station.

Which may deservedly give a Jealousy of many who promise *Fidelity* to the King, according to  
their

their Oaths, in which some are guilty of as notorious Equivocations as the Jesuits: and this is the rather to be suspected, because some of them absolutely refuse to thank His Majesty for the Deliverance which he has vouchsafed us. If it be said, that the Church of *England* is not concerned in this. I would gladly know how it could otherwise have subsisted, and how long it could stand upon an Interest divided from all other Protestants; I say not merely Protestant Churches, because some will allow of no Church where there is no Bishop, as appears plainly enough in the zealous Author of *Vox Cleri*. Some of these, contrary to what our Saviour tells us of his *Kingdom*, would have it to be of *this World*, and fear lest if the Terms of Church-Communion should be more comprehensive of Protestants, they whom they call the only true Sons of the Church should be out-voted, or of less Esteem. Certain it is that the *lax* Interpretation of the Oath of Allegiance, which some of them make and publish, gives such an advantage to the Enemies of the *State* to betray it, as no wise Government will suffer.

Two Questions may arise upon this transient view of Affairs past and present.

1. Which of the divided Parties, either *Whig* or *Tory*, have all along been truest to the Interest of *England*?
2. Which is most likely to be firm to this Government?

It must be admitted that each Party will reject some of their own side, as Reproaches to them.

The *Whigs*, those who trusted wholly to the late Court; or, whoever they are, if any such can be found, who prefer a *Common-wealth* before a *Monarchy*,



narchy, and are for altering this Form of Government, which the Wisdom of past Ages has moulded as equally, as perhaps ever any was; for some *Utopian State*, or other vain *Chimera's* of their own Brains.

The *Tories* will now at last reject the Guide to the inferior Clergy; and numbers of his Followers.

But when the Bishops Imprisonment shall vie with the Deaths of the Lord *Russel*, Col. *Sydney*, Mr. *Cornish*, or even Mr. *Colledg*, (who wanted nothing but Quality to make him great living and dying): Then shall the coming into Offices by virtue of the Surrender of others, or declar'd readiness to quit some particular Laws of known benefit, for the sake of securing the Foundations, be a Crime equal to Surrenders of Charters, and the most outrageous Violations of the Liberties of the Subject.

Neither Party must be judged of by the Extravagancies of some of them; and both will cast off them who have been sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other; and are to be found constant in neither.

But for a true Judgment of them both in relation to past Transactions, before his present Majesty's Landing, it is to be enquir'd,

1. Which was most zealous in prosecuting the Popish Plot, notwithstanding all the Terrors which encompass'd it?

2. Which made the most useful Laws? And, whether the *Habeas Corpus*, and *Test-Act*, or the Acts for unnecessary and burdensom Taxes, regulating or garbling Corporations, against the Religious Assemblies of numbers of good Protestants, for settling the

the *Militia* with such Powers as are thereby given, and the Court-Oath, and that which repeals the Triennial Law, were most for the good of the People?

*when*

3. Which Party when in Power us'd it most according to Law? Or which strain'd the Law, or the Prerogative for subverting the Fundamental Constitution of the *English* Government?

4. Which sort of People, 'tis most for the honour of this Government to employ; They, who if admitted in, would raise a Jealousy in the People, that the old Instruments of Oppression are made use of, for the former ends? Or they, who always kept to the Laws, even while they were in Power, and while they lay under the Feet of Men without Mercy, suffer'd, though not with the Applause which the Bishops met with, yet with the true courage of Confessors.

It may further deserve Consideration, Whether Men of those Arbitrary Principles which the others profess at this Day, will suffer this Government to be defended, as it was founded upon the true Principles of Civil Right?

If their Principles are right, the late King could not act more arbitrarily than he had Divine War-rant for, and consequently all the proceedings against him were groundless.

In relation to what has occur'd since his present Majesty appear'd here, in vindication of the Cause and Rights of the good People of *England*,

It may be considered,

1. Who were for the Regency, *Whigs* or *Tories*?  
2. Whether they who were for a *Regency*, were not so, upon the belief that the late King's Royal Power did remain?

3. Whe-



3. Whether such must not, if they are true to their Principles, suppose the late King still to be King *de Jure*, and consequently look upon this as an Usurper?

4. For a trial therefore which are for the Government; Suppose the late King should land with *French* and *Irish* Forces; and his present Majesty, as he certainly would, should march to give him Battel.

Which is it to be presum'd, if left to their Liberty, would venture all on his Side against the other? Would the Men for the Regency act against their inviolable Monarch, from whose Person the Sovereignty is inseparable? No surely, *Touch not mine Anointed* would bind up their Hands as with a Sacred Spell.

'Tis the known perswasion of such Men, *That People are made for Kings, as the Conveniencies of Life for the use of Men*: And therefore they have a Rule, That while a King is kept out of his Kingdom, his presumable Intention is to Govern: And as it is to be presum'd, that he would have his People preserv'd till a good time for his Return, they ought to sit still while a Force is over them: But are to do nothing which may tend to his prejudice. How far that Rule has been observ'd, may be a proper Subject for a Second Paper.

FINIS

1. Who were for the Regency, Whigs or Tories?
2. Whether they were for a Regency were not
3. Which

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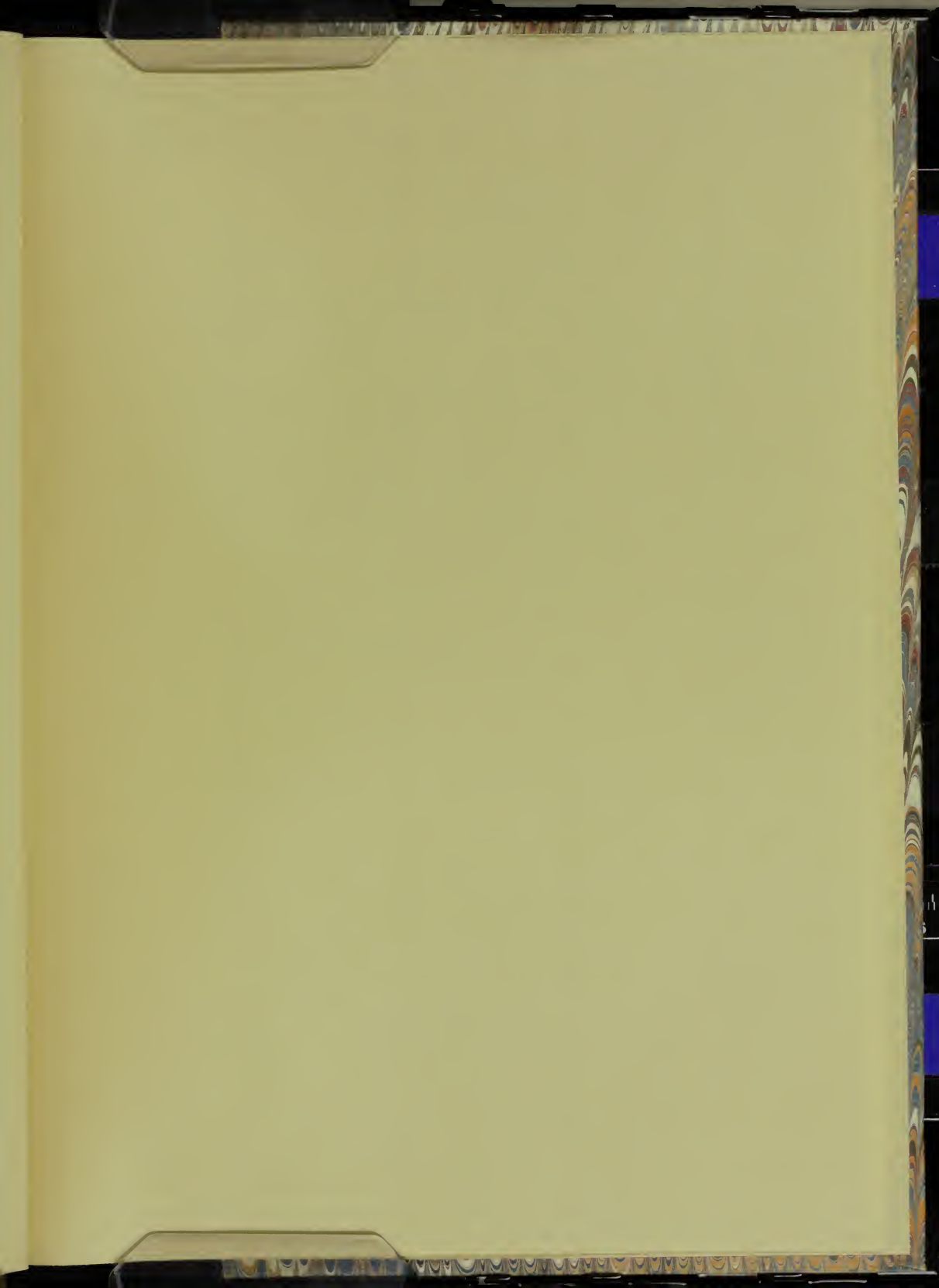
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